/527 cont./

574 must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and
[56] customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important posi-
tion of the woman in the economy assures her position within the
family equal to that of the man. It is the strict social duty of
571 every individual family, apart from any purely natural compul-
sion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles
and the established social aims. Beyond that, as a continuation
and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers
the young people at the time of maturity a community education
in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this
ceremony /528/ should be discussed in this section, although
it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else
among the Yamana does the primitive state manifest itself so
clearly as in the youth initiation, and it functions beyond the
narrow legal boundaries of the family, exercising its own rights.

Several families are naturally associated through blood ties,
571 but only loosely, and the reciprocal obligations growing out of
this are the kind universally found among human beings. Five
dialect groups have been established as associations of larger
proportions, but these cannot be regarded as a division based on
social principles (p. 199 /untranslated/). Moreover, there is no
[565] hierarchy based on birth and station, nor are there class differ-
ences which elsewhere rest on accomplishments or property.
Finally, unification of the entire tribal community under a single
[22] head, such as a chief or magistrate, priest or sorcerer, did not
take place among our Indians.

There are ancient tribal customs with the force of legal ob-
671 ligations, as well as definite principles about possessions and
property, and the public sees to it that they are faithfully fol-
lowed. It also observes and practices the cultivation of the
universally familiar tribal virtues. Crimes against the assured
duration of the family or against related groups are settled in
smaller or larger combats. Although there is no special social
621 division and no appointment of an authoritative person to rule
the community, there is a distinct and binding power embracing
all members of the tribe -- namely, the state, no matter how
weak and undefined it still appears in its earliest beginnings.

/871 cont./

3. Division of Labor between Spouses

In marriage the two spouses are not only united by a bond of love, but consciously in a working partnership as well. Among the Fuegians all work serves the purpose of immediate sustenance; no one thinks of the future or of an accumulation of riches. Household management is possible for an independent family only on the basis of a definitely circumscribed division of labor for the two spouses. Hence, it necessarily follows that one member remains inescapably dependent upon the other. This not only brings about the almost complete equality of both sexes, but makes plausible the fact that an /872/ adult cannot continuously or for a long period live alone and unmarried. Hence, all of them, without exception, marry when they are still young. Single, aged, and widowed persons who cannot marry again try to find refuge with a family of friends. In marriage both parties join forces, and their common goal is to have the family operate in an orderly fashion as an economic and social arrangement.

The spheres of work and the various individual tasks are divided up according to the natural ability of each sex (82).

82. In March, 1864, Stirling referred to his observation that "there are well marked divisions of labour amongst this people" /cited in English/ (VSA:XI,228;1864). Bridges (b):210 much later supplemented this: "The division of labor [between husband and wife] is made in a manner that is considered just" /translated from Spanish/. Hyades (g):35 expressed himself more precisely: "Within the family, man and wife divide the work. The actual hard work falls to the men... The actual housework -- in this case, with the lack of houses, it is certainly figurative, so-called housework -- falls to the women."

All duties requiring greater muscular power, tough endurance, audacious courage, and decisive fearlessness are suitable for the

/680 cont./

593 admonishing him, she expects him to provide for all the needs of the family and why she maintains complete independence in all the labors that are hers by ancient custom, without letting her husband interfere. She gathers mussels or goes fishing, arranges the pelts, and sews clothing whenever the whim strikes her and she is in the mood. If her husband expresses special wishes, he knows as well as she that she is by no means bound to fulfill them and that she does so only out of love and affection.

562 593 This does not alter the fact, however, that Yamana women are ordinarily submissive and yielding. Almost never in words, but certainly in his /681/ attitude, the man, without offending, embodies a considerable preponderance of authority and power. For their part the Indian women, without losing themselves in slavish lack of will power, seem to be more willing to surrender their equality than is customary elsewhere among their sex. It is hard to say whether they are dominated by a sense of weakness or a feeling of inferiority. Outwardly, at any rate, the woman shows a subjection and subordination to her own husband which gives many European observers the impression that she is without rights and merely a weak plaything of her husband's tyranny. This impression is doubtless strengthened by the natural shyness and extraordinarily silent reserve of all Yamana women in the presence of a man (72). Hence in cases of incompatibility and

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72. This observation may have inspired Hyades (d):308 to say: "The woman submits to her husband, but provided she is faithful, he does not mistreat her" /translated from French/.

quarrels between the two there is never noise or shouting. If he should burst out with a few abusive words, she says nothing.

562 593 152 The excessive submissiveness of most of the women fosters among the men a consciousness of superior power not established by common law. If this is coupled with a nature given to violence and outbursts of rage among one or another of the men, the woman must occasionally expect maltreatment. In his anger, usually caused by minor incidents, he beats her with any stick or scrap of leather he happens to have at hand. She ducks or bends sideways without crying out or weeping. It is all over in a few

/681 cont./
562 minutes, but for the woman it is accompanied by several hours
593 or an entire night of suppressed pain. The deeply felt mortification
152 pains her incomparably more than the blow or beating.

An irascible and violent husband never has a good reputation,
562 even though at times he might have grounds for dissatisfaction
593 with his wife. None of my informants could remember that a
626 woman had ever suffered serious physical harm from maltreatment. Her relatives would not have let matters go so far, but would have helped her to escape before it happened. Basically, public opinion condemns any physical attack on a woman, and whenever it occurs people take a definite stand against the man or against his wife, depending on the case, in order to prevent a repetition of such quarrels.

562 In contrast, there is a considerable number of henpecked hus-
593 bands among the Yamana, according to the statements of the three Lawrence brothers. There is no exaggeration in Bridges' (i):21 words that "not a few men are domineered over by their wives" /cited in English/ (73). Walter is one of these men,

73. Fifteen years later, Bridges (h):210 repeated this sentence without changing it.

helpless in the hands of his wife. Even more, Julia is really a mannish woman, and the not very energetic Alfredo, sometimes at his wits' end, lets her have her way. In contrast to these two couples, /682/ Carmen suffers so much from the brutality and violent outbursts of Calderon that all her fellow-tribesmen pity her and sympathize with her. At present, just as in former times, an individual incident may occur in which the wife bursts out and takes violent measures against the man, without however, actually establishing petticoat domination. Lovisato (b):146 gives an example: "We have seen a wife justifiably strike her husband, without the other wives present taking her part or they themselves understanding the grave deed" /translated from Italian/. This, too, shows the occasional considerable independence and arbitrariness on the part of the wife toward her husband.

593 Aside from the above-mentioned disturbances in marital life,

/950 cont./

X 881 The general feeling of emotion is again dispelled, and the singing is carried on softly by individual persons. They are preparing for a change of mood. The people who came in a while ago as visitors remain seated if it is already evening. The solemn ceremony seldom occurs in the forenoon; if it does, the visitors assemble here in the evening.

X 881 553 During these solemn hours the occasionally necessary change of name of an uŭwāla also takes place. Not every candidate is given another name at the end of his initiation, only the so-called usipin, usiapisin, that is, "the one without a birthplace," or the child who for some reason does not bear the name of his birthplace (p. 536). As a rule the Yamana avoid giving the same name to two persons. One of two people born in the same place must, for the time being, be content with a nickname or with the general designation of ŭsípisĕnjis or ŭsípinkípa. At the end of the initiation it then becomes proper for him to bear the name of the place where he passed his first čiéxaus. Now that their hĕ́takuxĕ́olan is handed over to them with special formality, the sponsors pronounce this new name for the first time and it then comes into common usage. For example, until my first initiation in Šámakuŭwā́la (Punta Remolino), I was an ŭsípisĕnjis for the Yamana; thereafter I was called Šámakuŭ́ĕnjis. Koppers was named kumbudĕ́njis after Kumbútu (Puerto Mejillones) where the initiation took place in 1922.

X 881 562 For the other formality which must still be observed, /951/ they regularly choose the last evening in the čiéxaus hut. It culminates in handing over the rule to the women for a few hours. At the proper moment, places are exchanged and the women crowd around the main entrance while the men move toward the center and the rear, beside the secondary entrance. During my first initiation [533] the new song was introduced by Alfredo's wife and in March, 1922, by Pedro's wife; in each case the husbands were serving as overseers. The rest of the women were subordinate to this woman as their leader. All the women joined in the song she introduced and took part in it with unusual animation. Among the men, the actual leader was still very prominent. Santiago constantly made interjections to encourage the women to sing louder and to make a vigorous effort to drive away Yetā́ita who was nearby.

After the women led the song for almost an hour, they stopped, and Santiago, along with a few men, resumed the soft singing.

/951 cont./

X881 562 Meanwhile the women rested. After about 20 minutes he loudly and repeatedly called out: hóhohohohó. The women rose and the men followed their example. They respectively crowded into a cluster and assumed a threatening attitude. One cluster shuffled toward the other and they came so close to each other that they collided. Then they began strongly shoving one another; first one group retreated slightly in the face of the other's superiority; then the first group gained the upper hand. The triumph of victory constantly veered from one group to the other. One formed a strong wall against the other, and the two pressed against each other, body against body. Sometimes an individual woman would also oppose an individual man; each of them held a dance staff at shoulder-height, and in this manner she opposed him, and he, her, with the greatest possible effort. Each of the two groups struggled hard and intensely. The pressing and pushing lasted about 20 minutes. The men, who are stronger, kept the struggle undecided in order finally to help the women to victory by allowing themselves to be pushed back against the rear of the Great Hut and even partly out into the open through the secondary entrance. The women welcomed their victory with a loud howl of joy and vigorously expressed in gestures their satisfaction at their victory over the men. Triumphantly they went back to their seats at the main entrance; the men sat down in the center of the Great Hut, showing by their behavior that they were defeated.

The meaning of this sham battle is easily discernible. For one evening, at least, the women are to have sole sovereignty in the čiéxaus hut (364). In their consciousness of victory they

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364. This exhibition definitely reminds one of the "Hostan" scene in the Kloketen of the Selk'nam. Here, too, the feminine world is given an opportunity "to shake off completely, at least for a few hours, the depressing feeling of utter defenselessness against the powerful tormenting spirits of the Great Hut [and these are the men themselves] and to win back their own spiritual equilibrium" (Vol. I, 997).

actually /952/ do feel elated and are visibly refreshed by it (365).

365. Schmidt (d):953 regards this struggle

/952 cont./

X881
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of the two sexes and the victorious superiority of the women "as the first penetration of matriarchy in ancient primitive times, a concession to this new era through the adoption of a matriarchal scene in the otherwise complete parity of the youth initiation of primitive times."

With this single demonstration the final evening of the extended ~~Cíexaus~~ celebration definitively ends.

2. The Final Celebration

X881

The leader's speech pertaining to the planned conclusion of the youth initiation does not by any means invalidate the prevailing order of the day, and all the previous rules and regulations remain in force now as then. The speech is a request chiefly to the middle-aged men to bring in larger quantities of meat without delay. Hence they set out on the hunt, accompanied by the uíwíala; the younger element must now take a more active part since abundant quantities of food will increase the general gaiety. For their part, the women and girls engage in gathering food more eagerly than is usual. In two or three days a great deal of meat is brought in, depending on weather conditions and luck in the hunt. Meanwhile the uíwíala bid farewell to the trees in the woods (p. 757).

Up to this point there has been no change in the daily program of the Great Hut. The people sit in their places practically motionless, silent and lost in thought. The monotonous singing never ceases. As soon as considerable quantities of food have been accumulated outside the Great Hut, either in the cookhut or in the branches of nearby trees, the leader waits for clear weather and then orders the kitchen women to prepare the general festive meal. These women, assisted by several helpers, start a large fire where they broil many pieces of meat and cook vast quantities of mussels and crabs in the ashes. When the aroma of roasting meat begins to spread, the leader, along with the overseer, gets up from his place and leaves the Great Hut. He is followed by the wineíkí'a and his helpers, as well as the rest of the men and women. Finally

/1089 cont./

577 and a departure from monogamous marriage is not looked upon with favor. Within the family the woman's position is almost exactly on a par with that of the man. Since, according to ancient custom, the necessary tasks are tactfully and purposefully distributed among each of them with a view to their physical and psychological characteristics (p. 450), household management is orderly and marital duties, as well as all daily work, are more a pleasant occupation than an oppressive burden. The parents carefully fulfill their duty of rearing their children, and the latter love their parents sincerely. Respect for parents-in-law and the constant willingness of relatives to help one another encourage close bonds uniting a local group (p. 606). The modest reserve of young people in the presence of older persons and caution in front of visitors from other regions prevent hostilities (p. 912). According to the prevailing custom, the people in general care for the sick and infirm (p. 942), orphans (pp. 574 , 943), and widows (p. 412), independently of what the nearest relatives do for them. The concept of private property is definitely developed, and the property of the individual is safeguarded by specific laws (p. 858). Infractions against them are rare, since no one could conceal stolen goods for very long (28). The individual groups

28. The following opinion contains strange contradictions. Phillips:183 repeatedly caught the natives stealing in Isla Keppel. "They were called to account, and the men became so angry at the accusation that they made threatening gestures to kill the missionary, Phillips. From these and subsequent instances one should have learned the lesson that the Fuegans, although incorrigible thieves, nevertheless regard being accused of dishonesty as the worst disgrace, as though among them it is not the stealing but being caught that is shameful." Cf. Phillips (a):1011.

have at their disposal extensive areas /1090/ as hunting territory (p. 829), and these are used by neighbors only under certain

/1311 cont./

823 There is a mountain massif in the west, whose highest peaks suggest the figure of a hunter carrying two wild geese on his back and accompanied on either side by a dog. This man turned to stone there, it is no longer known why, but anyone traveling near there is supposed to remain quiet. Spencer:82 writes: "Ken told me story of boiling lake high up on Hoste Island behind the tall snow peak on Dumas Peninsula seen from Rio Douglas. Too hot to hold hand in and very dangerous to go near" /cited in English/. [133] It is not generally known that there are warm springs here and there in the Cape Horn Archipelago. Not far from Punta Remolino, at a considerable altitude, I myself visited a mineral spring. The following statement by Spencer:82 is vague: "There is a special cove on Tekenika Bay with a cave in which lives a dangerous spirit. No Yahgan dare stay there at night. George told Ken, who had done so, that he was lucky to have got out alive. Strange noises are always to be heard there at night time" /cited in English/. 777 In the Yamana language there are several expressions which correspond exactly to our terms "lucky devil" and "unlucky fellow." According to Bridges (k):240, BD:42 gives, for example, istauwālux, "successful in hunting" /cited in English/, and the combinations that can be formed with it. The superstitious beliefs of the Yamana show their tendency to be afraid and their active imaginations. /Fig. 95 appears here./

/1312/ E. The Kina Celebration

891 The great significance of the youth initiation for the permanence of the social order of our Fuegians is outwardly expressed x 575 by the fact that the young people of both sexes are, without exception, obliged to take part in it on two occasions. By and large, the čiēxaus is obviously a continuance of parental rearing beyond the narrow confines of the family hut, and it has the special goal of making young people useful members of society. The definiteness of this goal is convincingly proved by the fact that, upon the conclusion of their initiation, the individual candidates enter adulthood and have the right to marry and found a family (p.842). Later on, the knowledge that they have obtained

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X 575 562

about the entire heritage of ideas and conceptions of the tribe is supplemented and amplified for the young men exclusively in the secret ceremony of kína, which on principle is reserved for the male population. Here the primary aim is not a clearly-defined goal to be achieved through training -- although training is not altogether ignored -- but rather an introduction to a unique sphere of mythological ideas which the men regard as their exclusive property. They guard it anxiously from the inquisitiveness of their wives, and sometimes, in their consciousness of this possession, they make the female population as a whole keenly aware of their superior position and their arrogance. The explanation for all this is that the kína, based on prejudiced ideas, shows a more or less marked misogyny. This one-sidedness makes the kína fundamentally different from the čiẽxaus. The latter is available to both sexes at puberty, the former only to mature men (266 /sic/).

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266. I discovered the same conditions among the Halakwulup. These Fuegians have a separate men's ceremony besides the actual youth initiation. For the time being compare Gusinde (o):541 and (q):287.

[136]

Fig. 95. Sea Lions, Otaria jubata.

/1319 cont./

X575 small groups of men sometimes stayed as long as four months in the Great Hut, but ordinarily these performances lasted only a few weeks.

One must not attach too little importance to the following circumstances. The Yamana offer almost no resistance to their restless instinct for moving hither and yon; it is impossible for them by nature, so to speak, to remain settled anywhere for any length of time. When they have stayed in one place for a few weeks, certain sources of food in the vicinity become depleted to such an extent that they must exert themselves beyond their strength in hunting and gathering. Since they cannot endure this state of affairs, and indeed are not obliged to, they soon change their abode. Finally, the presence of many people and the large amounts of refuse from meals make a place so dirty after a certain time that everyone is driven away from the place, although the Yamana generally are almost entirely indifferent to such things. Moreover, one must remember that the Kina does not have a definite goal that must be achieved in one way or another. Every young man who is privileged to be there for the first time becomes sufficiently familiar with its basic ideas and its dominant aim after a few days. None of the organizers, therefore, would be able to predict or definitely to determine how many weeks or months the assembly will be together. At best, he will assume -- and probably rightly so -- that winter will keep it together longer than a fair summer.

2. The Participants

X575 ● 562 The Kina of the Yamana, as an actual men's ceremony, is, on principle, reserved for men, but for some time now exceptions have been made and a trustworthy woman may also be admitted. The original, consistent rejection of any woman may be explained with reference to the so-called myth of origin. The men should and must prevent the female population from ever again gaining possession of this secret ceremony. It can no longer be determined just when a milder attitude /1320/ in favor of a few women gained ground and some of them were given the secrets, but the fact as such is clear proof that the basic misogynic idea of the Kina of the

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[562]

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Yamana is not nearly as strict as that with which the Selk'nam exclude their women from the Kloketen (Vol. I, 827).

The sole condition imposed on a young man who is accepted as a candidate into the Kina hut has frequently been mentioned: he is obliged to have proved himself twice as an uŝwāla in the youth initiation. This legally valid principle has been applied without exception from ancient times, but the change in the living conditions of the Yamana, caused by European settlers, has obliged them to relax the strict demands in some cases so that for several decades now lads have been admitted to the Kina who attended the čiéxaus only once as uŝwāla (271). Despite

> 271. I was thoroughly aware of this condition. Hence I presented myself for the initiation a second time, because I wanted to experience it once more to become more familiar with the facts -- I was greatly hampered the first time (p. 179 /untranslated/) -- and wanted, so to speak, to force the friendly Indian group to conduct the men's ceremonies as they had promised (p. 184 /untranslated/).

their yielding on many points, even in most recent times our Fuegians have not deviated from this minimum demand. It will not come as a surprise when I say that the old, influential men knew very accurately which boys had become acquainted with the Kina and which had not. Those who are permitted to enter the Great Hut of the Kina for the first time are called uŝwāla, just like the candidates in the čiéxaus. In BD:419 one finds tāmōm "a lad who has not yet been subjected to the ceena discipline" /cited in English/.

Every young man who has once patiently taken part in the kina as an actual uŝwāla is now regarded as an adept. As such he has the right to be admitted to any subsequent men's celebration wherever it is held. In reality, every adult male Yamana has previously become familiar with it, although there is no obligation and no pressure was exercised. It is taken for

/1321 cont./

X 575 562 It has just been pointed out that in exceptional cases a woman may be admitted to the men's secret celebration. The group of older men grants this privilege only to a woman who has proved herself worthy of such confidence. The assumption is that the men need not fear that their Kina secret will be misused by the woman or that their superiority is endangered if they are betrayed. These privileged women are treated exactly like the male uíwáala in the Great Hut; outside it they are all similarly pledged to strict silence. Long discussions among influential men precede the permission to introduce a woman into the Kina hut. Anyone who is given this great measure of confidence by the men feels honored. A woman is not permitted to ask for this distinction; it is always her own husband or a close relative who proposes it to the men assembled. If he obtains an affirmative answer, he tells the woman in strict confidence, /1322/ and she immediately makes preparations to enter the secret hut of the men. In the Kina of March, 1922, only Gertie was singled out and introduced. I was told that she was the only woman in her age group who was trustworthy.

X 575 The larger the number of participants, the more stimulating and varied the festival is. The rather long list of spirits can be more or less completely portrayed only if there are many men, each of whom throws himself into a definite role. Many a man is sufficiently ambitious to demonstrate his ability and to display his agility. He enjoys appearing first as one spirit and then as another. There are also some performances which can be put on only if several men participate. Thus, the more participants there are in a Kina festival, the easier is the choice among the players, and the more complex the individual pantomimes are.

3. The Campsite

If a good-sized group of families have decided to put on the Kina celebration, they soon notify their nearest neighbors by definite invitation. A man will almost never miss an opportunity to amuse himself in the company of his own sex by clownishly intimidating the women, and thus in a short time even a few families from a distant local group are assembled. Moreover, if a famous yekamuí

/1326 cont./

X 575 345 It has previously been mentioned that the immediate area around the Great Hut must be smooth and even. To the left of this hut, or rather to the left of the wide entrance, kína éfya -- as seen by the spectators -- a passage two meters wide and ten meters long is cleared of grass and stones and made absolutely level. This is where the dancers who again and again appear from the Great Hut before the eyes of the camp inmates present themselves. The hut entrance is always away from the camp and is usually near the edge of the forest, whereas the dwellings are usually between the Kina hut and the beach. While the work of building the hut and arranging the interior is going on, a few men must drag up a quantity of thick logs and tree stumps until a considerable pile of firewood is stacked beside the Great Hut. The women cannot be entrusted with this because they would come too close to the secret gathering-place of the men. It takes a great deal of firewood to maintain a broad hut fire day and night.

X 575 The length of time spent in preparation depends in each case upon several circumstances. Decisive factors at any time are the number of male participants and the convenience of the chosen locality. Once the men have been seized with a desire for the Kina performance and joyfully anticipate it, they fall to with a will and, even without a specific request from their leader, make every effort so that the actual affair may begin as soon as possible. Inclement weather, however, now and then causes considerable delays in the most essential preparations.

c. Procedure of the Festival

X 575 562 The chief goal of the group of men at their Kina is to remind the female population anew of their superiority and to make all the women definitely feel their greater power. Consequently they surround their activities with all kinds of mystery and make very sure that the purposes behind their deceptive performances are not discovered by the women. They particularly avoid any situation that might arouse a suspicion of intentional deception. This secret gathering and illusory performance of the men is based

/1326 cont./

X 575 562 on an old myth and is supposed to renew and strengthen the women's erroneous belief that their men are intimately associated with certain spirits who are helping them keep the women in subjection. For centuries the men have strictly guarded their secret.

Throughout the whole course of this festival, all the women and children /1327/ are watched with relentless severity. While it is convenient for the men gathered in the Great Hut to adhere to their daily program, the persons left behind in the camp are strictly curtailed in their freedom so that they will under no circumstances discover the Kina secret. During this time the men are ruthlessly strict with all the women and children, but they do offer them enough stimulation and variety so that these days and weeks are not in any way a period of uninterrupted agony. Every woman knows that forward behavior and impertinent curiosity would be severely punished.

X 575 The program of the Kina festival is carried out according to definite rules that have developed from a long past. The many kinds of scenes and spirit appearances in themselves make any one ceremony different from the others through greater diversity in the production or more animated participation by the performers; likewise, the personal talents of the leader and the number of male participants provide reasons for many differences. The basic features, however, are always the same. No regional differences have developed in the various parts of the Yamana homeland, but in individual areas sometimes one and sometimes another spirit-appearance has been given preference.

In the course of the following description many points of agreement between the kína of our Yamana and the klóketen of the Selk'nam will come to light. A brief reference to this similarity should be made now; it would lead too far afield, however, to point out each individual detail. There is also considerable resemblance between the two versions of the so-called origin myth.

After repeated urging, old Maʃemikens finally, in March, 1922, declared himself willing to undertake the leadership of the Kina festival. He was really the only trustworthy man who could reliably carry out the many duties and requirements connected with this post. A few of the older Yamana still remembered that the men's secret ceremony was once held here in Puerto Mejillones,

591 after which they would usually go for good to the groom's kin. Thus, localized groups of kin tended to be paternal.

604 After marriage the husband's paternal uncle and the wife's maternal aunt took particular interest in them, superseding in large measure their respective parents. Children-in-law were expected to
606 look after their parents-in-law in sickness or other needs. Children-in-law observed a number of avoidances regarding their parents-in-law: greeting their parents-in-law, speaking to them or breaking in on their conversation with remarks, looking at them, and sitting down beside them were all taboo. When in the same hut with their parents-in-law, they turned their sides or backs on them. A year or so after marriage, the restrictions between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law were partly, but never wholly, relaxed; those between son-in-law and father-in-law lasted through life. On visits of the father-in-law to his daughter, he and his son-in-law communicated wishes and news through the daughter and wife or by indirect discourse.

562 The man was, in theory, considered the head of the family, with
593 authority to rule. Actually, his authority was very far from absolute, and the woman was largely her own mistress, particularly in such provinces of her own as child rearing, food gathering, and canoe managing. Some men domineered over their wives, but not a few husbands were under the thumbs of their spouses. Some husbands were cruel, but if so they ran afoul of the wife's kin. More generally, woman's position both in the family and in the community seemed a respected one, not that of a drudge, slave, or inferior being, and she enjoyed a fairly high degree of freedom and independence.

684 Adultery was disapproved by the *Yahgan* code, but apparently
837 the code suffered appreciable infringement in practice. Adultery on the wife's part was, if discovered, punished by the husband with sound beatings, very rarely with death. Public opinion disapproved of her behavior. Adultery on the husband's part also gave rise to domestic battles in which the husband sometimes suffered severe treatment at his offended wife's hands. Jealousy on the part of both
[548] husband and wife was common. Wife lending was absent. There was no professional prostitution; a woman, married or unmarried, of markedly loose character was looked down upon.

586 Separation and divorce were fairly frequent, but were not lightly resorted to. The most common cause appears to have been cruel treatment of the wife by the husband, though there were other causes such as marked laziness, negligence, or crabbedness on the part of the
[595] wife. In case the wife became incapacitated through illness or age, the man could, and, it seems, more commonly did, take to himself a second wife.

437 money of any kind, and no weights or measures. Barter was carried
[439] on among the *Yahgan* themselves, with the *Ona* and *Alacaluf*, and
[804] with the Whites. Barter by exchange of presents was common; a
[436] gift was made, regardless often of the wishes of the recipient, who could not refuse it without affronting the giver, and who was definitely expected to give something in return.

1168 Inheritance played a very minor rôle. Much or most of the de-
428 ceased's property was burnt with the body. The person's dog fell to the oldest son or other near relative or acquaintance. Some of the more valuable or useful property might be bartered or given away to distant persons. Such burning, bartering, and giving away were intended to take from sight what would cause sorrow to the survivors by reminding them of the beloved departed, and to signify the survivors' desire not to profit by the death.

685 Stealing was considered decidedly reprehensible; but thefts actually occurred, even among their own people, not as daily matters, so to speak, but it would seem, not very uncommonly. A habitual thief, who failed to reform, was in the end boycotted—a severe punishment under *Yahgan* living conditions.

574 Generous sharing of food with kin and friends was the rule. Hospitality was extended as a matter of course.

46 Labor.—Neither wage nor slave labor existed. There was a little, but not much, labor in common. Each family was a relatively independent economic unit. The division of labor was almost exclusively a sexual one, with no organized or unorganized craftsmen making their living by specialized trades.

462 The man's task was to hunt marine mammals, otter, guanaco, and birds, to make his own weapons, to build and repair the canoe, to do the harder work in hut building. The woman's task was to care for the younger children, to cook, tend the fire and look after the hut generally, to paddle and have general management of the canoe in which the family spent so much of its time, to do all the skinwork and leatherwork, such as preparing skins, sewing clothing, and making skin bags and pouches, to make baskets, and, last but not least, to collect mussels, much of the fish and other sea food, eggs, fungi, and berries.
[462] Since mussels were the chief food resource, the woman's part as provider was an extremely important one.

[572] Probably her crucial role as food provider had a good deal to do with her relatively high status in *Yahgan* society. Certain tasks fell to man and woman jointly, such as building the hut, and hunting from the canoe, when the man did the killing while the woman maneuvered the craft. All in all, if we take into account *Yahgan* living conditions, although the list of women's tasks is longer than that of the men's, actually the sexual division of labor appears to have been a fairly equitable one.